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Copies of this issue to all members

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A purpose of the Augusta County Historical Society is to publish *Augusta Historical Bulletin* to be sent without charge to all members. Single issues are available at \$3.00 per copy.

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OLD HOMES OF AUGUSTA COUNTY: A SURVEY*

By
Ann McCleary

One's house is more than mere shelter. It is a personal and social testament to their lives . . . When men build houses, they say something about themselves and their cultures which simply because the statements are unconscious, are likely to be truthful.¹

The many houses and farm buildings which create the architectural fabric of Augusta County are some of the most valuable documents about its past. When viewed as containers of space, houses illustrate patterns of family life, from household production to social gatherings. The particular arrangement and use of space within the domestic setting are culturally defined, rooted in the traditions in which they developed. Builders and residents left their own imprint by selecting from the possible cultural repertoire those building forms and planning concepts best suited to their personal needs, desires, and economic means. The meanings within these houses do not end with their initial construction, however. As cultural and economic conditions changed, so too did the houses; subsequent alterations and additions reveal how later residents adapted these dwellings to their changing needs and lifestyles.

Vernacular architecture assumes even more importance in the historical record because so many buildings do remain throughout the countryside. Historians have often lamented the dearth of written records for studying the private sphere—ordinary people and everyday life. As a new generation of social historians emerge to study what is often called "history from the bottom up," they have searched for non-traditional sources to learn more about this overlooked, but most important, aspect of our history. The vast collection of vernacular buildings provides extensive documentation on the lives of many more people than could ever be alluded to in the traditional written records. Furthermore, through systematic inventory of these buildings, regional domestic patterns and changes can be analyzed and compared, adding further to the social history scholarship.

As the importance of vernacular architecture has been acknowledged, preservationists have stressed the urgent need to document this rapidly vanishing heritage through more systematic architectural survey. The Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, Virginia's state historic preservation office, has embarked on an extensive, county-by-

county program. Due to its rich architectural heritage, Augusta County was chosen as one of the first counties for such a survey. The inventory recorded all pre-Civil War dwellings and significant, typical, or unusual post-Civil War houses as well as outbuildings, barns, mills, stores, schools, churches; steel truss bridges; cemeteries; and even 20th-century buildings such as filling stations and motels. Documentation techniques, which varied according to the age, type and condition of the building, included photographic coverage, architectural analysis, oral histories, historical research, and measured plans. Completed in 1982, the Augusta County survey has documented over 1100 buildings, cemeteries, and historic sites.²

One of the first conclusions reached through the survey is that very few buildings constructed before 1800 have survived. This was certainly not surprising, since in most areas of Virginia and other colonies, dwellings constructed in the earliest periods of settlement were of a more impermanent nature. These were later replaced by more substantial buildings as economic circumstances improved and social and cultural conditions demanded. Unfortunately, little documentation remains of Augusta County's earliest buildings, except for very scattered references in the written records. The Mutual (Fire) Assurance Records in Richmond, one of the few sources available for the late 18th century, provide an important clue to this early building period—that most of these buildings were of wood construction. Only four buildings insured before 1816 were brick and six were stone. This clue assumes even more significance when one realizes that these insurance records were inherently biased towards the more wealthy settlers who chose to insure their buildings or who maintained stronger ties to Richmond and eastern Virginia. Standing in sharp contrast to the collection of predominantly masonry buildings from that period, these records reveal that the surviving early 19th-century buildings are not representative of their time, being more the exception rather than the standard or popular building form. Unfortunately, the small wooden houses which remain are often embedded in later additions, complicating precise dating. When examining this early stage in Augusta County's development, the extant buildings must be viewed in their proper context.

The surviving late 18th-century houses clearly illustrate the traditional European forms and construction techniques brought by early settlers to Pennsylvania and then into the Valley of Virginia. Perhaps the most distinctive are those forms associated with the German and Swiss settlers from the Rhine Valley. This Continental legacy is stronger in the lower Valley, especially the Massanutten settlement in Page County, where a large group of Rhenish houses document its early to mid 18th-century settlement. Since the strongest waves of German

*Submitted to Augusta Historical Society Fall 1982

migration into Augusta County occurred in the late 18th century, fewer Rhenish houses have been found in Augusta County. The only two surviving examples, the Lewis Shuey house in Swoope and Sleepy Hollow south of Staunton, date to the 1790s (Figure 1).³ Both are full, two-story log houses with a *Flurkuchenhaus* plan characterized by three

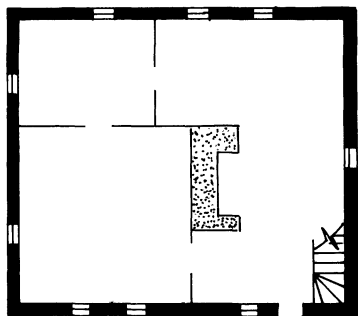


Fig. 1—
Lewis Shuey House, Original Plan

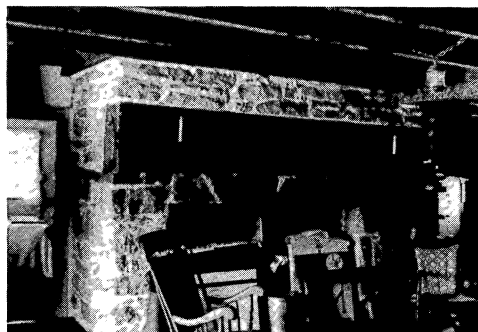


Fig. 2—
Lewis Shuey House, fireplace in kuche

rooms clustered around a massive central chimney. A front entry, displaced towards one side in what was often a two-bay facade, led directly into a narrow *kuche*, or kitchen. A large fireplace, still visible at the Shuey House, reveals its former cooking functions, but this room also housed a variety of other family activities, serving as a multi-purpose gathering and work space (Figure 2). Opposite the chimney, and sometimes with its own front entry as at Sleepy Hollow, was a square-shaped *stube* or parlor, with a *kammer* behind, used for sleeping or probably more often storage. The second floor provided sleeping spaces, usually in a plan similar to the first floor. In an honest expression of early joinery, construction details were clearly exposed on both floors, from the summer beams and floor joists to the beaded board partitions.⁴

According to tradition, Germans utilized all the space within the house, either for living or for storage. In the Continental manner, both houses were built into a bank, creating insulated cellars below half the house. Insulation composed of straw and mud was wrapped around wooden slats between the first floor joists and then covered with plaster to create a cool cellar for food storage. Neither Augusta County example has the additional vaulted cellar found in the Page County examples. However, like several of its predecessors, the Shuey house was built over a spring, providing water in the cellar. Attics were used for storage of grains and other goods. Both Augusta County houses retain the heavily-framed roofs often associated with German settlement. While the attic at Sleepy Hollow is constructed of a braced principal rafter and

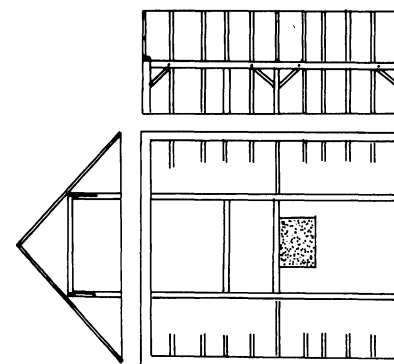


Fig. 3—Lewis Shuey House, Roof Framing Plan

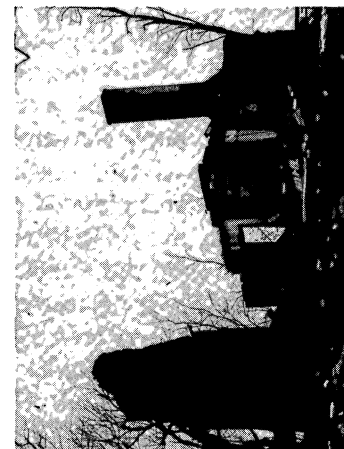


Fig. 5—Frederick Cline House

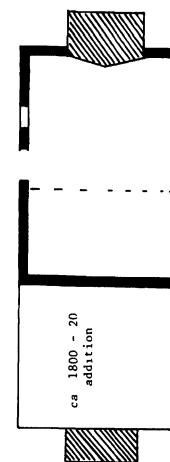


Fig. 6—Frederick Cline House Plan. Original plan and fenestration shown, as far as can be determined. The fenestration had been considerably altered with the frame addition, ca. 1800-1820.



Fig. 4—Lewis Shuey House, Roof Framing



Fig. 7—Eugene Crosby House

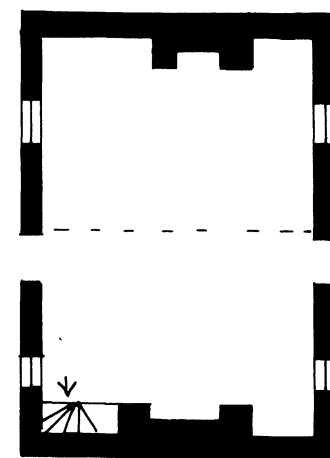


Fig. 8—Eugene Crosby House Plan. Two-room, hall-parlor plan.

purlin roof truss, the Shuey house has a double roof, with a boxed underframe supporting common rafters (Figures 3 & 4).⁵

These Rhenish houses were probably two of the largest and most commodious wooden houses of their day. Fewer of the smaller, contemporary houses remain. One of the few late 18th-century examples is the Frederick Cline house, which reveals a plan quite popular among early 19th-century wooden houses. (Figures 5 & 6). Like the Continental plans, this rectangular, two-room house also has strong European ties. Found throughout the British Isles, the hall-parlor plan has been attributed to early Scotch-Irish, English, and Welsh settlers. Typically, the main entry led into the larger, heated room, called the hall, generally used for cooking and daily family activities. The unheated parlor was often reserved for sleeping. Although early examples of this plan were probably one to one-and-one-half stories in height, two-story examples are also found in parts of the British Isles as well as the Appalachian region.⁶ The use of log construction in most of the surviving houses of this type suggests that this Anglo form had already merged with Continental building techniques in Pennsylvania before moving into the Valley. Although the Cline house has full-dovetail log notching, a type commonly found in Pennsylvania, most of Augusta County's examples display a simpler, more economical V-notch.

Stone construction, found in the Rhine Valley and parts of the British Isles, also came to America with its German and Scotch-Irish settlers who employed it extensively in Pennsylvania and the Valley of Virginia. The abundance of limestone in Augusta County encouraged its use for the first wave of substantial building at the turn of the 19th century. Several of these early stone houses contain plans similar to their wooden contemporaries—the two-room, hall-parlor design (Figures 7 & 8). One variation did occur with masonry construction—chimneys were created on both ends so that each first-floor room and sometimes second-floor rooms could be heated. These two-room houses range in size from 23 by 17 feet to 41 by 27 feet.

Although none of the larger masonry houses contain German plans, they reflect Rhenish design ideas in their forms and proportions. By the first decades of the 19th century, Germans had begun to abandon their ethnic forms in a gradual process of acculturation to Anglo ideals affecting various phases of their lives. The fenestration and central chimneys proved to be two of the first features abandoned, although certain characteristics were retained, especially in interior planning. Many contain three-room plans, with different arrangements of the traditional *Flurkuchenhaus* plan. The Henry Miller house at Mossy Creek presents a rationalized arrangement of these three spaces

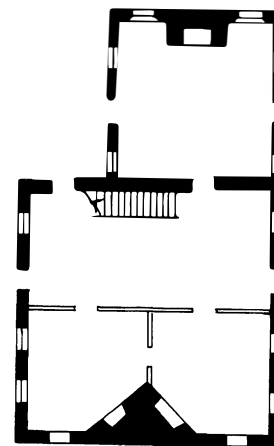


Fig. 9—Henry Miller House Plan.

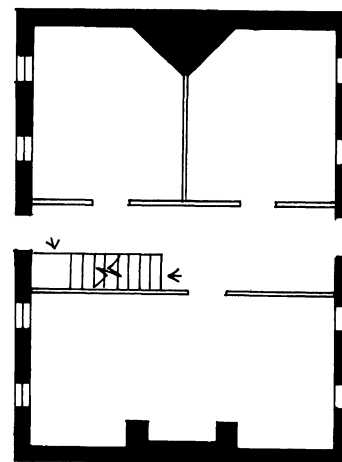


Fig. 11—William Shields House Plan

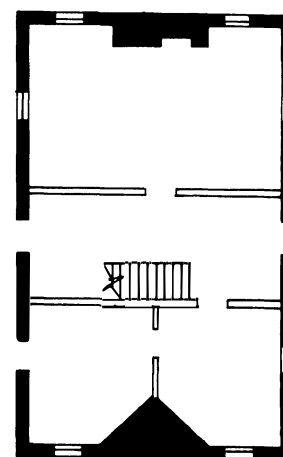


Fig. 13—John Coalter House Plan

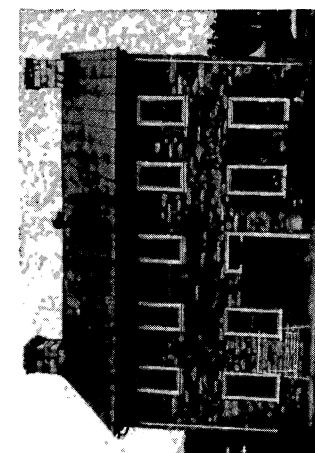


Fig. 10—William Shields House



Fig. 12—John Coalter House

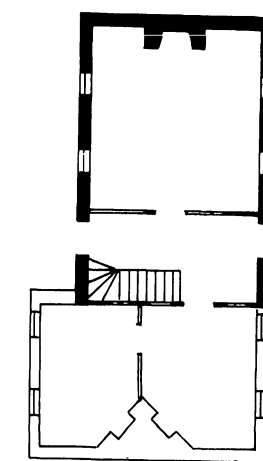


Fig. 14—Robert Tate House, "Clover Mount," Plan. Original hall-parlor house to right, with addition to left.

(Figure 9), with the former *stube* and *kammer* transformed into equal-sized rooms and provided with a corner chimney on the gable end. Henry Miller's new arrangement also reveals the dramatic change in room usage from the Continental prototypes. Most importantly, the long entry room now contained a formal stairway, rather than the cooking fireplace, and served a formal, rather than utilitarian, function.⁷ Cooking and immediate family activities hence retreated further into the house.

Other variations moved even further from the *Flurkuchenhaus* model, but still resembled this three-room idea. The most common variation retained the rationalized room arrangement with corner chimney as at the Miller house, but interjected a formal central passage. Several houses documented through the insurance records in 1803, including the William Shields house (Figures 10 & 11) and the John Coalter house (Figures 12 & 13), display this plan. Even Robert Tate, a Scotch-Irish settler, had enlarged his more familiar hall-parlor house into a three-room arrangement by 1803, converting the smaller room, or parlor, into a passage, and adding a double-pile block of rooms, with corner chimney, off the parlor wall (Figures 14 & 15). Variations on these three-room plans continued until the time of the Civil War. Other stone and brick houses of similar scale from the early 19th century experimented with four-room plans, often arranged in an asymmetrical manner behind a deceptively formal facade (Figures 16-19).

This small first wave of masonry houses, with their increasingly symmetrical facades, rationalized plans, and formal central passages, reflects the influence of a popular, new house type—the Renaissance-inspired Georgian model. Popularized first in large country and city dwellings in Europe and the British Isles, Georgian ideals had begun to challenge traditional architecture in eastern Virginia and other colonies in the 18th century. New concepts of formality and pretentiousness were presented in these stylish shells boasting symmetrical five- or three-bay facades highlighted by a centrally located and often highly embellished entry (Figure 20). Its hallmark, and most important planning innovation, actually occurs inside—the central passage (Figure 21). No longer did the visitor enter directly into a main living space such as the English "hall" or German *kuche*. This central passage brought formality and privacy to the vernacular building. The passage controlled access to the one or two rooms on each side, rooms which began to acquire more specific social rather than utilitarian functions. Coinciding with changing family needs and often the exclusion of servants or slaves from the immediate household, the central passage introduced a measure of control over traffic flow and household activity that would have been difficult in the earlier, more informal plans.



Fig. 15—Robert Tate House, "Clover Mount"

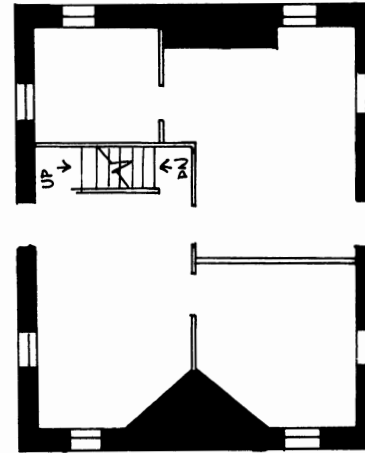


Fig. 17—John Poage House Plan, original four room plan shown. Later addition creating hall off front door is omitted.

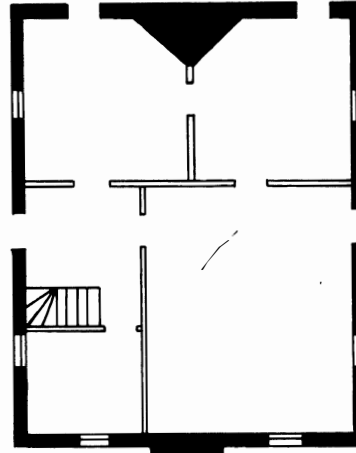


Fig. 19—Crawford-Kegley House Plan. Original four room plan shown, but like the Poage house, a later partition had been added to create a front hall.

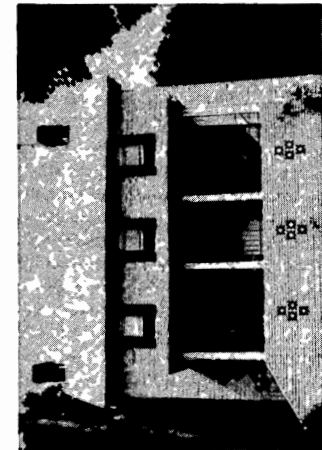


Fig. 16—John Poage House

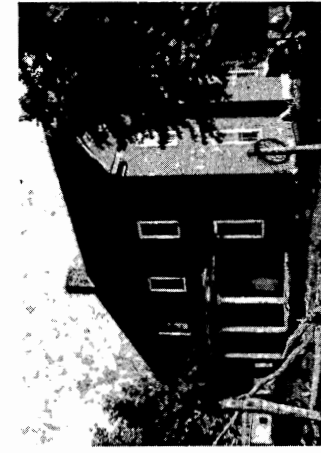


Fig. 18—Crawford-Kegley House

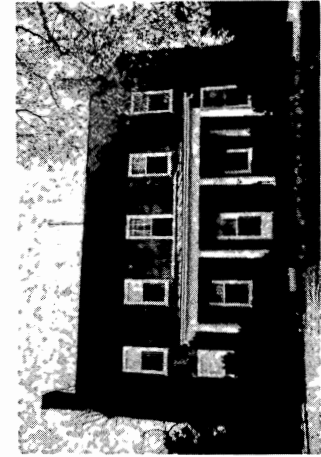


Fig. 20—Annandale, built in 1824 by John Joseph of Middlebrook

By the early 1820s, the Georgian model had clearly begun to influence local vernacular building. During the subsequent years of agricultural and commercial prosperity, as the Valley experienced its first major wave of substantial building, the Georgian house provided a stylish model appealing to many local people. Out of this new vocabulary, the Valley builder selected the single-pile or one-room deep variation, commonly called an I-house by folklorists (Figures 20, 21, & 22).⁸ Local residents and builders added their own adaptation to this plan—the ell extension, either one or two rooms deep and one or two stories high (Figure 23). Cooking and dining activities were subsequently removed from the main core of the house to the first floor or the basement of this rear auxiliary. The front rooms then assumed more specialized, social functions. The result was a formal facade to the public and rear service wing for family activities (Figure 24).

The acceptance of this new model was by no means immediate or complete; its introduction merely added another form with its various components to the local builders' vocabulary. Great variation in plan design continued, but with these new concepts. One of the most clearly-related designs was the side-passage plan—a passage with one or usually two rooms to one side. Local examples in frame, log, and brick suggest the increased formality of the Georgian ideal, both in facade and plan. One example, the Charles Berry house, was partially "completed" by a one-story, one-room extension off the opposite side of the passage (Figures 25 & 26). Other early 19th-century dwellings kept the familiar hall-parlor plan but disguised it in a stylish brick shell, presenting the outward appearance of the new model (Figures 27 & 28). Molded, corbeled, or houndstooth brick cornices and elaborate brick jack arches embellished these increasingly showy dwellings.

Introduced at the same time as this new form were Federal styles in interior decoration. Inspired by the archeological discovery of the Roman ruins in the late 18th century, this light and graceful style came to dominate popular American woodwork soon after the Revolution. Delicately carved mantels, with sunbursts, urns, slender colonettes, and a variety of classical molding bands replaced the heavier, simpler 18th-century paneled designs. In Augusta County, these mantels were often carefully duplicated from the new popular pattern books, especially in the southern part of the county (Figure 29).

More commonly, however, local joiners and cabinetmakers took these published pattern book designs and interpreted them rather freely, creating distinctive local compositions. Traditionally, Germans have been recognized for their creative folk art highlighted by bright polychromy. Within these new brick shells was often hidden a pot-pourri of unusual decorative touches reflecting this old-world spirit.

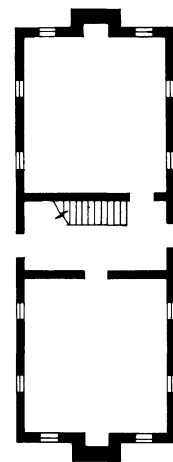


Fig. 21—Single-pile Georgian House, or I-House



Fig. 22—James Ramsey House, ca. 1805

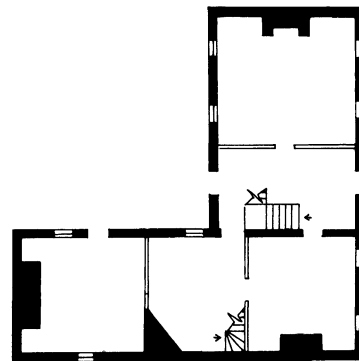


Fig. 23—James Ramsey House Plan, with integral two-room ell. Originally, there was no door between the dining room and kitchen.

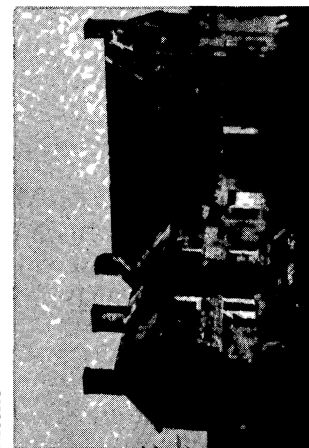


Fig. 24—Kerr-Brandenberg House, ca 1834-6, with typical two-room ell. Quite often, doors led out from both ell rooms, as in this case.

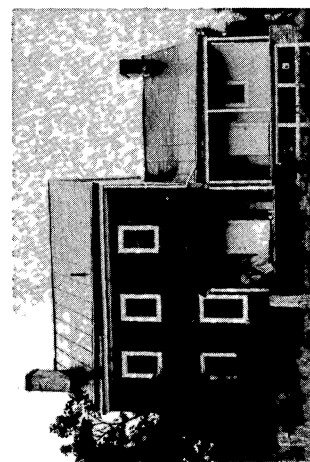


Fig. 25—Charles Berry House

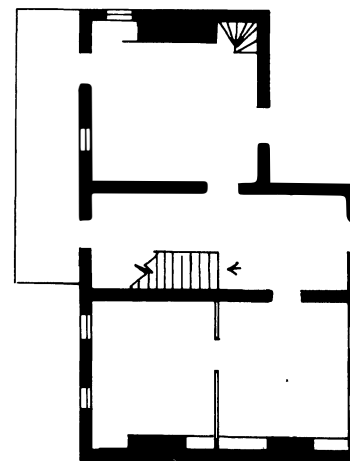


Fig. 26—Charles Berry House Plan

The propensity towards elaborate decoration often received its fullest expression in mantels, where joiners lavished much of their creative energies. Local craftsmen tended to take popular motifs, such as urns and sunbursts, and carve or turn them into rich, three-dimensional forms, or to arrange them in compositions totally unlike the more reserved, proper examples found in pattern books (Figure 30). Exaggerated, layered cornices contributed to these bold designs. While historians traditionally associate these unusual local mantels with the Germans, one recently documented example proved to be the work of a Scotch-Irish joiner, James Rankin, for an English client, John Seawright. By the 1820s, this had become a definite local style which would characterize interior woodwork until the 1840s. The process of acculturation must be seen then as a symbiotic relationship, with Germans influencing as well as adopting popular Anglo styles.

Besides the free interpretation of pattern book designs, Augusta County woodwork contains motifs clearly derived from European folk art. Various floral designs, from tulips on the Coiner-Slaybach House mantel (Figure 31) to pinwheels on the Coiner House newel, adorn the interior woodwork. Heart designs on the stairwell by Christian Bear Sr. at Intervale add to this collection of German folk art designs (Figure 32). Arriving in Churchville around 1803, Bear created some unusual, very personal compositions, blending natural vegetation forms with more popular Federal motifs, such as eagles (Figures 33, 34). This rich local decorative spirit extended to gravestone carvings, where pinwheels and other German forms are found, again associated with English and Scotch-Irish settlers as well as the Germans.

Few examples of original painting remain, but those that do, although now faded, suggest the brilliant interiors once found in Augusta County. One of the best-preserved examples is the Coiner House at Crimora, where mantel details are picked out in shades of dark green, red, yellow, and gold. In other houses, the various stair details—stair risers, carved brackets, balusters, newel posts, railing, baseboards, and rails, stiles, and panels of the spandrel—have been highlighted with different colors. An unusual painting pattern, resembling sponge work designs, has occasionally been found on interior doors and wainscoting (Figure 35). This design, which one local family has traditionally called an "oyster" pattern, has seldom been found outside the Valley. In different examples of this pattern, colors vary from bright greens to roses to blues and tans, illustrating the rich palette of the local painters. Unfortunately these colors and patterns often have not suited modern tastes and consequently have been repainted. However, enough examples have been found on pieces of woodwork in Augusta as well as Rockingham Counties to suggest that this was not an isolated phenomena.



Fig. 31—Coiner-Slaybach House Mantel, first floor, south room.

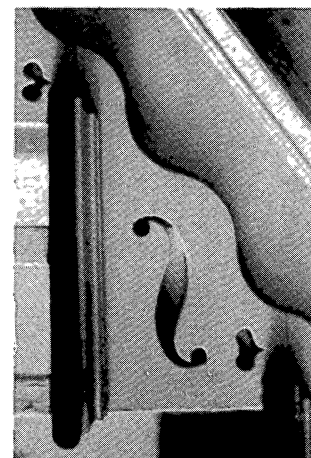


Fig. 32—Intervale, hearts carved on stair brackets of central stairwell, attributed to Christian Bear, Sr.

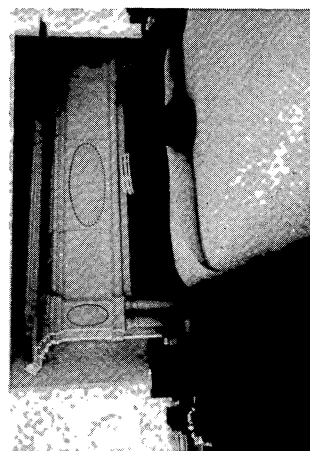


Fig. 29—Carson-Walton House Mantel, first floor, north room.

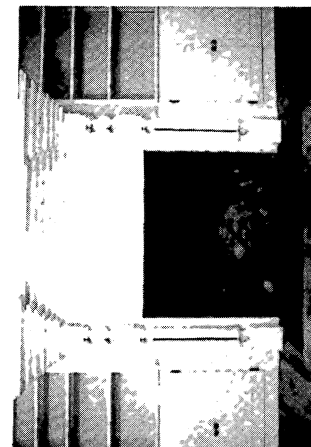


Fig. 30—Dr. W. D. Ewing House Mantel, first floor, south room.



Fig. 27—John R. Berry House

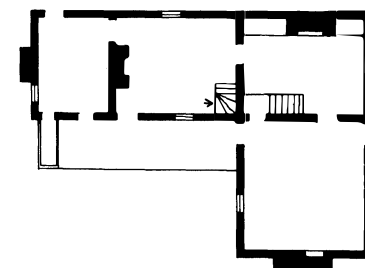


Fig. 28—John R. Berry House Plan. Ell ca. 1870.

By the mid-19th century, local variations in plan and decoration had begun to fade, and the popular styles took a stronger hold on vernacular building. The complete, double-pile version of the Georgian model had been introduced and accepted, again in stylish brick shells. In many ways, this model was not totally unrelated to the contemporary local repertoire, since it represented merely a rearrangement of the four rooms and passage found in the familiar I-house with ell plan. Perhaps the most outstanding example of this new model was Bethel Green, built outside Greenville ca. 1853-6 by Jonathan Brown (Figures 36, 37). Its stylish Gothic trim illustrates a familiarity with the popular pattern book architecture of its day, while the two-room service ell reveals its firm grounding in Valley traditions. Bethel Green proved to be a local trend-setter in its form as well as its many details, such as the narrow, paired windows and the elaborate porch. After the Civil War, double-pile Georgian dwellings of brick and frame construction became the symbol of prosperity among local farmers, particularly in the 1880s and 1890s.

Single-pile brick I-houses, presenting a more economically feasible alternative for farmers and villagers, also continued well past the Civil War, but were increasingly constructed of frame, stuccoed stone, or later concrete (Figure 38). The two-room ell, providing ground floor dining and cooking space, had become an integral extension on almost all of these late-19th century houses and were also added to older houses at this time. Ell porches with a pantry to one end created additional work and family gathering space. As new architectural styles became popular, I-houses were cloaked with Gothic, Queen Anne, or even Shingle Style decoration but the form remained constant and its use very predictable. Even the Eutsler Brothers, prominent Grottoes contractors of stylish Queen Anne houses at the turn of the 20th century, often used this familiar I-house with ell model or merely shuffled around the same four rooms and passage to create a slightly irregular plan.

While Georgian houses were being built by farmers and villagers throughout the 19th century, the familiar wooden dwellings with two-room plans and two-story elevations were still equally common. Indeed, their plans had become so standard that one folklorist has called them the "typical Southern mountain cabin," characterized by a three-bay facade, central door, cross passage, single exterior gable-end chimney heating the larger room, and an enclosed corner stairwell often along the central partition (Figures 39, 40, 41).⁹ Although Glassie's use of the term "cabin" may suggest a small, impermanent type of dwelling, local residents clearly viewed this as a satisfactory and very acceptable form for permanent dwellings as well as for tenant houses (Figures 42,



Fig. 33—Intervale Mantel, first floor, north-west room, attributed to Christian Bear, Sr.



Fig. 34—Mantel from Christian Bear, Sr. House, destroyed; now in Christian Bear, Jr. House. Attributed to Christian Bear, Sr.

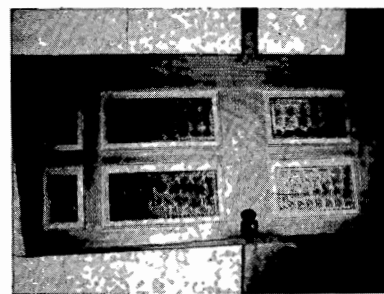


Fig. 35—Coiner House, door in parlor, first floor, west room.



Fig. 36—Bethel Green, ca. 1853-6, by Jonathan Brown

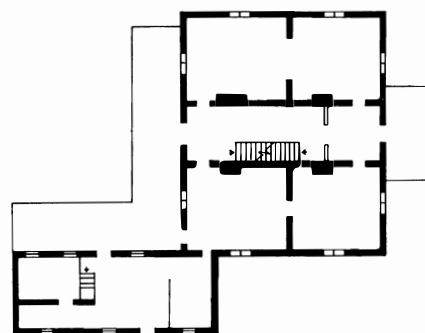


Fig. 37—Bethel Green Plan. This double-pile Georgian plan has a two-room ell uncommon for houses with this four-room plan.



Fig. 38—Ignatius Yount House, ca. 1870s, with integral two-room ell.

43). While earlier examples are generally built of V-notched logs, by the end of the century they were more frequently built of frame construction. Quite often, these houses have been enlarged by the standard two-room ell and occasionally by a lateral single-room addition to create an I-house (Figures 41, 44). This plan continued to be built well into the 20th century, particularly in the mountain areas (Figures 45, 46).

By the mid to late 19th century, interiors had also taken on a more standard finish, copying the popular Greek Revival styles. Although the chaste, classical mantels and the door and window trim had become very similar to woodwork throughout Virginia, occasionally local variations occurred. One local tradition which clearly persevered was the fondness for interior painting. Mantels, stairs, doors, and window and door trim have often been embellished with marbelizing, graining, and other painting in a great variety of designs and colors until well into the 20th century (Figure 47). Perhaps the most spectacular survivals of interior paintings are the works of itinerant painter Green Berry Jones. His paintings in the A. J. Miller House (Figures 48, 49), completed in 1892, include large hunting and landscape scenes, framed with elaborate borders, along the walls of the central passage, with the name of each room painted over the door. Smaller vignettes of contemporary figures, such as Buffalo Bill and circus figures, line the wall ascending along the formal stairwell. Second-floor mantels, flanking cupboards, and doors have also been creatively painted and grained.

Patterns of vernacular architecture and family life clearly emerge through the Augusta County survey—the ethnic diversity of the early settlers in the 18th century; the interaction between ethnic groups in the early 19th century, creating rich, local forms and decorations; the acceptance of popular Georgian ideas by the mid-19th century; and the persistent popularity of these Georgian forms after the Civil War. These patterns do not however establish a strict chronology; traditional forms such as the hall-parlor plan and decoration such as the interior painting continue into the 20th century in some areas. Every house has its own story to tell, and when viewed within the context of these developments, the personal aspirations and beliefs of its occupants become clear. No house is too great or too insignificant to tell a story, whether it is the story of a tenant farmer or wealthy plantation owner. Through all these houses, a more complete local history can be forged.

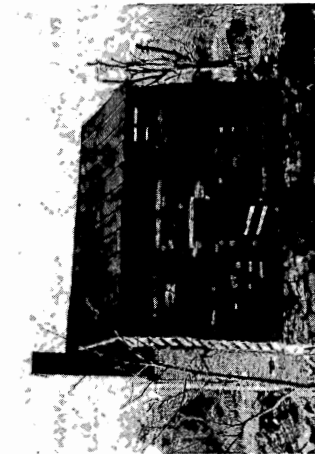


Fig. 39—H. J. Griner House, mid-19th century hall-parlor plan.



Fig. 40—Thomas-Beam House

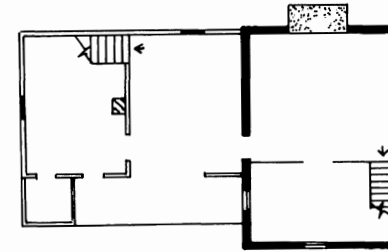


Fig. 41—Thomas-Beam House Plan. Early 19th century hall-parlor plan with characteristic late 19th century, two-room ell, with porch and pantry.

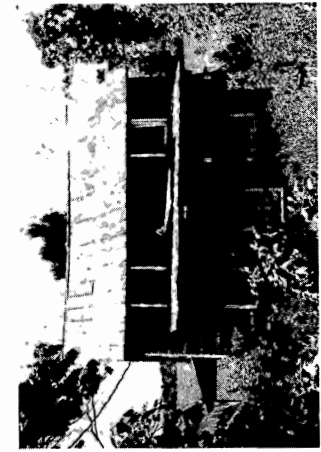


Fig. 42—Davis Tenant House

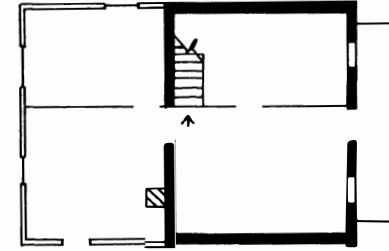


Fig. 43—Davis Tenant House Plan



Fig. 44—Thomas Montgomery House. Beginning as a hall-parlor log house, this was enlarged later in the 19th century to create the popular I-house model and the entire house was covered with weatherboards to disguise its log origins.

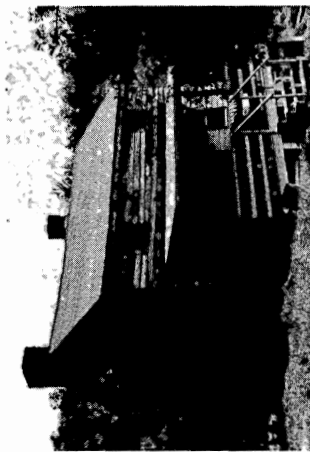


Fig. 45—Taylor-Childress House, a frame example of a hall-parlor plan from late 19th century.



Fig. 46—Walter Campbell House, built around 1900, according to family tradition.

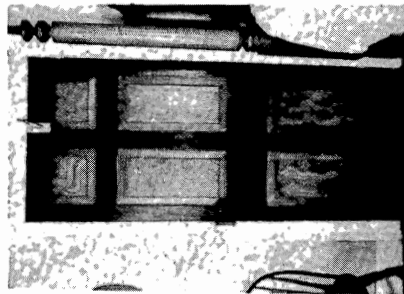


Fig. 47—William Smith House, grained door in second floor, south room. Graining may have been done by Green Berry Jones.



Fig. 49—A. J. Miller House, painting on wall in central passage by Green Berry Jones, dated 1892.

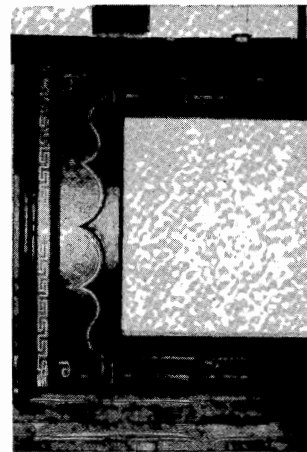


Fig. 48—A. J. Miller House, marbelized and painted mantel, second floor, northwest room, by Green B. Jones, 1892.

Notes

¹Pierce Lewis, "Common Houses, Cultural Spoor," *Landscape* 19, (January 1975), pp. 1-2.

²These survey records are housed at the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, 221 Governor Street, Richmond, Virginia.

³The Henry Koener House at Crimora bears much resemblance to German forms, but does not have the central chimney. Although extensively remodeled into a central passage plan, the present owners recall that the original plan included two front doors, a board partition down the center of the house, with smaller rooms partitioned off the back of the front rooms. Exterior chimneys were located on each end. In size the Koener House is identical to the Shuey House, measuring 33 feet by 29 feet. The roof is similar to the principal rafter roof at Sleepy Hollow. Because the renovations have been so complete, the original plan is difficult to prove.

⁴For further description of Germanic houses, see Edward Chappell, "Cultural Change in the Shenandoah Valley: Northern Augusta County Houses Before 1861," Masters Thesis submitted to the School of Architecture, University of Virginia, 1977; "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, (Independence Square, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1980).

⁵Chappell, "Cultural Change;" "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley."

⁶Dell Upton, "British and German Interaction in the Blue Ridge," Paper read to the Seminar on Blue Ridge Life and Culture, Blue Ridge Institute, Ferrum College, Ferrum, Virginia, September 1977.

⁷Chappell, "Cultural Change," pp. 55-60.

⁸In one of the first studies of folk housing, Fred Kniffen called this single-pile, two-story house an "I-house" since during his field work, he found this type predominantly in Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa. Fred Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 26, (December 1936), pp. 185-6.

⁹Henry Glassie, "The Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," in Jan Brunvand, ed., *The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1968), pp. 338-370.

THE "PITTSBURGH CONNECTION"

By
Walter L. Hickok

The following order appears among the proceedings of the County Court of Augusta, Virginia, under the date of January 19, 1775:

His Majesty's writ of adjournment being produced and read, it is ordered that this court be adjourned till the first Tuesday in next month and then be held at Fort Dunmore (formerly Fort Pitt) in this county, agreeable to the said writ of adjournment.

The court was held at Fort Dunmore (Pittsburgh). The court could not meet in Staunton at its usual time in March, being on an excursion to Pennsylvania. "His Majesty's writ of adjournment to the Court House in the town of Staunton, being read, the court was accordingly held on the 25th day of March 1775."

Pennsylvania disputed Virginia's Augusta County claim to its Pittsburgh's location, and each state arrested appointed officials from the other. Some Pennsylvanians were brought to Staunton to jail. Only after the completion of the Mason-Dixon line in 1785 was the dispute settled, and Virginia conceded Pittsburgh to Pennsylvania.

For those unfamiliar with Virginia history, a short synopsis: Augusta County was formed from part of Orange County, Virginia, in 1745. At that time the borders of Augusta County extended to the Mississippi River and included what is now most of the states of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia and the western part of Pennsylvania. For trials, suits and deed recordings, people had to travel long distances to court. The reason Augusta County Court was held at Pittsburgh (Fort Pitt) was for the convenience of having court nearer (by over 300 miles) to many citizens of the northern and western part of Augusta County.

This leads up to my story. I am a history buff of sorts and had long ago heard that Pittsburgh was once in Augusta County, Virginia, and delighted in telling people so. I am sure many did not believe me, but occasionally someone seemed to. I had also heard that the list of items traded for the land on which Pittsburgh is built contained the expected blankets, lead, gun powder, etc., but also Jew's harps.

Last year the Augusta County Historical Society had a reprint made of the Augusta County Historical Atlas of 1885. While reading this, I ran across the page number and deed book number where the deed for the Pittsburgh land sale is recorded in Augusta County Court House at Staunton, Virginia. I had read of Indians singing, dancing and playing drums but not Jew's harps, so I proceeded to secure a copy of the deed from the clerk's office to check for myself.

The deed for this sale contains three separate parcels totaling 200,000 acres along the Monongahela River, and, in each sale, among the trade items listed are Jew's harps.

Not to bore the reader too much, I will list one sale and suffice to say that all sales contained Jew's harps as trade items to a total of two hundred and forty. I wonder if the Indians had any sore tongues from trying to play a Jew's harp—for those who have not tried to play one, a pinched tongue is to be expected.

Thus goes the deed in part:

"TO ALL PEOPLE To whom these presents shall come Greeting Know Ye that we Abraham A. Mohawk Chief Sennghors an Oneida Chief Sagnariser a Tuscarara Chief Chenaugheata an Onondaga Chief Tagaia a Cayuga Chief and Gaustrax a Seneca Chief, Chiefs & Sachems of the six united nations and being and effectually representing all the Tribes of the said six united Nations send Greetings WHEREAS Iohonerissa Scaroyadia Cosswertenicea Chiefs or Sachems of the said six united nations did by their deed duly executed bearing date the second day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty nine for and in consideration of the following goods and merchandise being paid and delivered to them at a full Council of the said six united nations Delawares and Shawnee held at Logs Towne on the River Ohio on this second day of August one thousand seven hundred and forty nine that is to say two hundred and forty shrouds four hundred duffield Blanketts four hundred and sixty pair half thicks stockings two hundred shirts twenty pieces of Callicoe twenty pieces of Callimancoe twenty pieces of Embossed serge fifty pounds of Vermillian fifty grosse of gartering fifty pieces of ribbon fifty dozen of knives five hundred pounds of gun powder ten hundred of barr lead three thousand gun flints fifty pounds of brass kittles four pounds of thread one thousand needles ten dozen Jews harps twenty dozen tobacco tongs and one hundred pounds of tobacco, grant, bargain and sell unto George Croghan of the Province of Pennsylvania Esquire in fee a certain tract or parcel of land situate lying and being on the Southerly side of the river Monongehela. Beginning at the mouth of a run nearly opposite to Turtle Creek and then down the river Monongehela to its junction with the river Ohio Computed to be ten miles then running down the Eastern bank and sides of and unto the said River Ohio to where Racoon Creek emptys itself into the said River thence up the said Creek ten miles and from thence on a strait or direct line to the place of Beginning on the aforesaid River Monongehela containing by estimation one hundred thousand acres."

The deed is witnessed by many important citizens of the era including Wm. Franklin, Governor of New Jersey, Thomas Walker,

Commissioner for Virginia and John Butler, Interpreter for the Crown. This deed was recorded the following year in Philadelphia.

George Croghan, born in Ireland, came to western Pennsylvania in 1741. In a few short years he learned Indian languages and became the foremost Indian trader of his day. The story of how he accomplished the purchases of the land where Pittsburgh now sprawls—getting twelve Indian chiefs together, getting details of trade items wanted agreed upon, securing trade items and getting them by pack horse to Logstown, Ohio, delivery to the Indians and getting a deed for the sale, all in the time of slow communications—was a monumental feat in itself. Croghan was a friend of Andrew Lewis and many other Virginians. He visited this area in the Shenandoah Valley many times, and the story of his life is a most interesting one.

Augusta County Obituaries 1857

By Anne Covington Kidd

(Continued from Volume 18, Number 2)

In Middlebrook, on the 5th inst. . . . Mr. John ARGENBRIGHT, aged about 17 years. (11 March 1857)

Near Fairfield, on the 1st inst., Miss Lydia BARNETT, aged about 77 years . . . was a resident of Augusta co. for many years but for the last seven of this (Rockbridge) county . . . Thus one after another friends pass away her brother-in-law, geo. Barnhart, having preceded her but a few days. (RV 7 March 1857)

Departed this life, at his residence near New Hope, in this county, on the 20th ult., George BARNHART, in the 80th year of his age . . . a native of Shenandoah county, but migrated to Augusta county at eleven years of age. He had been a housekeeper and head of a family for over 50 years . . . has left a widow and three children. (4 March 1857)

At his residence, in this county, on the 28th ult. . . . Mr. Christian BAUSERMAN, aged about 77 years. (8 April 1857)

On Sunday morning last . . . Mrs. Anna A. BELL, wife of J. Wayt Bell, Esq. of this county. (RV 10 January 1857)

At her residence, in Augusta county, April the 26th, Mrs. Nancy BELL, consort of David S. Bell, aged 34 years, 9 months and 4 days . . . member of Tinkling Spring Church. (27 May 1857)

On the 14 inst., at her residence, near Greenville, Mrs. Margaret BLACKWOOD, relict of Sam'l Blackwood, Esq., deceased, and daughter of the late David Humphreys, all of Augusta county, Va. . . . in the 85th year of her age . . . was received into the communion of the church of Bethel, by the Rev. Archibald Scott, at least sixty years ago. (22 July 1857)

This tribute from the Christian's Creek school was offered through the Lyceum, to the memory of Albenia Ann (BRAND), daughter of David M. Brand, of Roanoke, formerly of this county . . . A letter from her brother . . . confirms the sad reality. She . . . died on Saturday the 10th of January; and on the Sabbath just two weeks from the day she was taken, she was borne to her little grave aged 12 years, 3 months and 7 days. (Leaves) Parents . . . Brothers . . . William, Joseph and Robert . . . January 30, 1857. (11 February 1857)

In this place, on Wednesday morning last . . . Mr. John BRANDEBURG, aged about 50 years. (RV 26 December 1857) . . . at his residence . . . in the 49th year of his age . . . born in Middletown, Maryland, but at an early age came to Virginia, and engaged actively in

business.—For many years a resident of this town . . . one of our leading Merchants. When the pestilence swept . . . Norfolk and Portsmouth . . . being childless, he adopted two of the little unfortunates . . . leaves a devoted wife . . . member of the Presbyterian Church. TRIBUTE OF RESPECT. . . . (member of) Board of Directors of the Bank of the Valley, in Virginia, at Staunton . . . Council of the Town of Staunton . . . member of this board, an Alderman of the Town, and an Overseer of the Poor . . . James F. Patterson, Clk. (RV 2 January 1857)

In Staunton, on the 21st ult., Mrs. Mary BROOKS, widow of the late Mr. Absalom Brooks. (6 May 1857) . . . at an advanced age. (RV 25 April 1857)

At his residence, on South River, Augusta county on the . . . 14th ult., Mr. William BROOKS, in the 69th year of his age. (9 December 1857)

On Sunday the 15 inst., in Staunton, Hervey BROWN, printer, of Winchester, aged about 58 years. His remains were forwarded to Winchester on Wednesday morning by Dr. F. T. Stribling . . . his funeral was attended by the Odd Fellows and Red Men . . . connected with the Methodist Church. (25 November 1857)

At the residence of his son, James Bumgardner, Esq., at Bethel Church, Augusta county, on the 25th day of August last, Jacob BUMGARDNER, sr., in the 91st year of his age . . . was . . . devoted husband—an indulgent parent. (9 September 1857)

On Sunday night last, Mrs. Nancy CARROLL, wife of Mr. Wm. Carroll. (18 November 1857)

At his residence, in this place, on Saturday, the 4th inst., Mr. Robert CARTER, in the 68th year of his age . . . born and raised in Cumberland county, Va., and for the past six years was a resident of this place. (RV 11 April 1857)

At the residence of her kinsman, Dr. A. L. Towles, in the county of Saline, Mrs. Sophia S. CARTHRAE, in the 84th year of her age . . . born on the 8th of October 1774 . . . the same year in which her gallant Uncle, Gen. Lewis fell, in command of the forces at the battle of the Point . . . daughter of Col. Thomas Lewis, of Augusta . . . his being selected together with Sam'l McDowell, by the Freeholders of his county to serve in the Colonial Convention, assembled at Richmond in 1775, and was the author of the Address to the Representatives in Congress . . . She . . . remembered, when a girl, to have seen Gen. Washington and Gen. Wayne at her father's house . . . She was the near relative of President and Bishop Madison, and President Monroe . . . member of the Presbyterian Church . . . under . . . the Rev. Archibald Alexander and Rev. Conrad Speece.—Saline (Mo.) Herald. (RV 14 November 1857)

On Sunday last, Mr. Jas. CLARKE, aged 85 years. (10 June 1857) . . . in the neighborhood of Bethlehem Church . . . in the 87th year of his age . . . (member of) the Presbyterian Church . . . leaves two children, a son and a daughter, and six grandchildren . . . remains were interred at the new burial ground at Bethlehem Church. (17 June 1857)

On the 27th ult., Matthew Blair (CLARKE), infant son of S. E. & A. A. Clarke, aged five weeks. (4 November 1857)

Died, at his residence, near Buckhannon, Upshur county, Va., on the 25th inst., Mr. Christian COINER, in the 84th year of his age . . . formerly from Augusta county, Va., and moved to Upshur (then Lewis) county in 1848, and settled near the new county seat.—West. Her. (RV 5 December 1857)

In Buckhannon, Upshur co., on the 9th inst., Mr. George F. COOPER, formerly of Staunton . . . remains were interred by the Odd Fellows. (25 November 1857)

On Tuesday, the 24th ult., at the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind, Florence (COVELL), infant child of J. C. and Ann E. Covell, aged about 17 months. (4 March 1857) . . . aged about 9 months. (RV 28 February 1857)

. . . Mr. Robert COX . . . expired on the night of the 22nd ult., at his residence in Spring Hill. (1 April 1857)

Departed this life, April 3, Mrs. Martha Jane CRAIG, wife of Mr. May B. Craig, and daughter of Col. Franklin McCue—all of Augusta county . . . in the twenty-ninth year of her age. (8 April 1857)

REV JOHN CRAIG. *Commenced the Presbyterian Ministerial Service Anno Domini 1740, and faithfully discharged his duty to A. D. 1774 . . . the Augusta Church had several worthy actors in the great closing Drama of the Revolution. Rev. Wm. Wilson, succeeded Mr. Craig . . . and continued . . . until bodily infirmity prevented him. Mr. Graham succeeded Mr. Wilson and lived only a short time, and died in Staunton. He was succeeded by _____ Speece, D.D., who officiated 22 years and preached on the day of his death in 1836. Rev. Wm. Brown . . . quite young, succeeded Dr. S. Mr. B. is still pastor. (RV 20 June 1857)*

On Monday evening last, Mrs. Fanny CROFT, wife of Mr. Daniel Croft, of this county. (28 October 1857)

At her father's residence, in this county, on the 13th of October last, Mrs. Angelina CROSBY, consort of Mr. Richard Crosby, aged 28 years . . . leaves five small children. (RV 14 November 1857)

(_____ CROUSE) . . . little son of Mr. Crouse, of Waynesborough, aged about five years, was drowned in South River, on Friday last. (10 June 1857)

In Waynesboro', on the 24th ult., Miss Mary Ann CROUSE, daughter of the late Jno Crouse. (4 February 1857)

On the 6th inst., Gerusha Jane (DAVIS), daughter of James F. and Eveline Davis, of this county, aged eleven months. This is the second bereavement these fond parents have suffered within the last few months. (26 August 1857)

At his residence, a few miles south of Marshall, Saline co., Missouri, on Tuesday morning, the 28th ult. . . . Col. Wm. C. DAVIS, in the 63d year of his age . . . removed from Augusta county, Virginia, in . . . 1840, and settled in Howard county, whence he removed in 1841 to Saline . . . was Presiding Justice of Saline County Court . . . leaves a wife and large family. (20 May 1857)

In Saline county, Missouri, on the 9th day of June last, Laura Ann (DEAL), daughter of Mr. Geo. W. Deal, formerly of Augusta county, Va., in the 5th year of her age. (12 August 1857)

On Christian's Creek, on Friday morning, the 18th inst., Mrs. Margaret (DEFFENBAUGH), wife of Mr. Henry Deffenbaugh, and daughter of the late John Leedy of Rockingham county, Va. (RV 26 September 1857)

At his residence, in this county, on Sunday, the 29th ult., Mr. Peter ECKLE. (8 April 1857)

Departed this life near the Valley Mills, on the 1st inst. . . . Mrs. Mary FOUTZ, consort of David Foutz, aged 68 years, 2 months and 28 days. (RV 10 January 1857)

Near New Hope, in this county, on the 26th ult., Mrs. Fannie S. (GARBER), wife of Samuel Garber, in the 33d year of her age. (2 September 1857)

On the 23d of this month, Mary C. (GARBER), infant daughter of Martin and Eliza Garber, aged about 6 months. (29 July 1857)

Mary Catherine GARNER . . . about two years of age, and daughter of Mr. David Garner, of this place . . . fell into a kettle of hot water . . . and . . . died on the 9th inst. (RV 14 March 1857)

(——— GEARHART) A little daughter, of Mr. Jackson Gearhart, of this county, was burnt to death last week . . . about six years of age. (28 October 1857)

On Saturday last Samuel GILKESON, son of Mr. David GILKESON, of this county, lost his life . . . He was living with his brother, D. C. Gilkeson, near Greenville . . . was a young man of 20 to 25 years of age.—*Spectator*. (RV 6 June 1857)

Mr. GRAHAM. (See John Craig.)

Last week, in this place, Mrs. ——— GROVE, wife of Mr. Stuart Grove. (RV 14 November 1857)

. . . at the University of Virginia, on Saturday morning last, Mr. John M. GUY, son of Robert Guy, Esq., of this county. (24 June 1857) University of Virginia, June 26th, 1857. At a meeting of the Students of the University of Virginia . . . a Committee, consisting of Messrs. K. Kemper, N. H. Payne, W. P. DuBose, C. H. Withrow and D. Cosby, jr., was appointed to draw up and submit resolutions . . . J. K. Page, Chairman. (1 July 1857) T. U. Dudley, jr., Secretary. (RV 4 July 1857) Tribute of Respect. At a called meeting of Graham L. Society, Washington College, held in reference to the death of Mr. John M. Guy, late one of its members . . . Wm. W. Houston, N. C. Luck, J. McD. McClung, Committee. (8 July 1857) . . . 24th year of his age . . . had finished with distinction, the course of studies in Washington College. (15 July 1857)

In Burlington, Iowa, on Thursday evening, the 1st inst., Nancy (HAGER), wife of Levi Hager, Esq., aged 46 years . . . born in Chambersburgh, Pa., but removed in early life to Staunton . . . where she was married, while quite young, to Mr. Henry Snyder, and subsequently removed to Hamilton, Ohio, where she was left a widow in 1840. She went to Burlington in 1842, and was united in marriage to Mr. Hager the same year . . . attached herself to the Methodist Church. (21 October 1857)

Departed this life . . . the 1st of Oct., at Mt. Solon, Miss Mary Jane HARMAN, the second daughter of Henry and Eliza Harman, in the 21st year of her age . . . (left) parents . . . brothers and sisters. (7 October 1857)

On Sunday night last, Mrs. Sarah G. HARMAN, of this place. (21 October 1857) . . . the 18th inst., at the residence of her son, A. W. Harman, in this place, Mrs. Sarah J. Harman, relict of Lewis Harman, dec'd., and daughter of the late Michael Garber, of Staunton, in the 59th year of her age . . . daughter, sister, wife, mother . . . (made) a long journey to . . . Kentucky, on a visit to her sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Menzies. (28 October 1857)

David HEDRICK, formerly of this county, died in Washington, on Saturday last, at one time connected with the Press in the Valley. (RV 17 October 1857)

In Monterey, Highland co., on Monday night, the 24th ult., Mr. Ferdinand S. HEISKLEL, of Augusta county, aged about 50 years. (2 September 1857)

In this place, on Monday last, Mrs. HENDERSON, widow of the late Dr. Henderson of the U. S. Army. (21 October 1857) On the 19th inst., in Staunton, at the residence of her son-in-law, Commander J. T. Craven, U. S. Navy, Mrs. Anna Maria HENDERSON, wife of the late Dr. Thos. Henderson, U. S. Army, and daughter of Commodore Thos.

Traxton, aged 65 years . . . large family of children . . . followed her remains to Lexington, and laid them . . . beside her husband. (28 October 1857)

Rev. John HOWARD . . . pastor of the Presbyterian Church in this place . . . On the 21st ult., one of Mr. H's brother's . . . arrived from Richmond, and, accompanied by Col. Albert, proceeded . . . to Staunton with him . . . It was hoped that under . . . treatment . . . at the Asylum, he would again be restored to the bosom of his . . . family . . . on Thursday night last . . . he seemed to be restoring . . . Early next morning . . . (he was dead). His mortal remains were sent to his friends in Richmond. *Woodstock Tenth Legion*. (RV 7 March 1857)

In this county, on Monday evening last, Mrs. Elizabeth HUDSON, wife of Mr. James W. Hudson. (26 August 1857)

Near Rockland Mills, Augusta county, Va., on Sunday evening, the 5th inst., Miss Maria S. HUFFMAN, in the 19th year of her age . . . On the 17th her mortal remains were followed by a large concourse of mourning friends . . . to Freedom's Church, where the occasion was improved by the Rev. Mr. Wolf. (2 December 1857)

In Savannah, Ga., on Monday, the 2nd inst., Dr. Charles C. HYDE, of Augusta county, Va. (18 March 1857) . . . a young physician of Rockbridge county, Va. . . . His mind . . . had been highly cultivated by a course of study at the University of Virginia. *Savannah Georgian*, March 4. (25 March 1857) . . . interred in the family burying-ground, in . . . (Rockbridge) county. (RV 14 March 1857)

On the 23d inst., Mrs. Eliza IMBODEN, wife of John D. Imboden, Esq., of this place, and daughter of Col. Franklin McCue (RV 26 December 1857) . . . in the 34th year of her age . . . the last of three lovely sisters, over whom *the wind has passed, and they are gone*—all within . . . nine months . . . (member) of the Presbyterian Church. (RV 9 January 1858)

Recently, at Mt. Vernon, Indiana, Mrs. Elianna May JUREY, daughter of Mr. Elijah May, and wife of Mr. Jas. H. Jurey, formerly of this place. (8 July 1857)

On Sunday morning last . . . the dead body of a white man was found on the farm of Col. Wm. A. Bell, in this county, where it had been lying for a week or ten days . . . "J. Taylor" was written on the shirt . . . identified as a patient of the Lunatic Asylum, who . . . escaped . . . The name of the deceased was KAYLOR. (16 December 1857)

At his residence in this county, on Sunday night last, Mr. Robert KENNY, in the 76th year of his age. (RV 6 June 1857)

Near New Hope, on the 11th inst., Delia Ann KOINER, infant daughter of Michael and Sarah Koiner, aged 11 months and 29 days. (RV 19 September 1857)

The Petersburg Express announces the death of John McNeale LATHAM, at Council Bluffs, Nebraska Territory, on the 18th of December last . . . native of Culpeper co., Va., studied law in Staunton and practised at Washington, D. C. . . . a leading member of the House of Representatives of Nebraska, and Prosecuting Attorney of the First Judicial District. (RV 7 February 1857)

In Churchville, on the 2d inst. . . . Walter McKendree (LICKLITER), son of James M. and Sarah V. Lickliter, aged 1 year, 10 mo. and 16 days. (9 September 1857)

Tyre MAUPIN, Esq., Editor of the "Martinsburg American," and formerly of the Staunton "Union Republican," died in Martinsburg, on Sunday, the 21st ult. . . . was about sixty. (1 July 1857)

. . . the Rev. B. G. McPHAIL, formerly a teacher in the Academy in this place . . . Rev. Benjamin N. McPHAIL, pastor of the Presbyterian churches at Snow Hill, Newton, and Pitts' Landing in Worcester county, committed suicide . . . on Saturday night, (9th inst.,) by jumping into the bay from the . . . steamer Wilson Small . . . accompanied by his son . . . thirteen years, and Mr. Morgan of the Methodist Protestant Church . . . a native of Virginia, and the family now resides in Norfolk . . . leaves . . . family and five children. (13 May 1857)

In Covington, Ky., on the 18th day of September last, in the 65th year of her age, Mrs. Eliza M. MENZIES, wife of W. A. Menzies, Esq., and daughter of the late Michael Garber, Esq., of this place. (7 October 1857)

On the 4th inst., on the Great Calf Pasture, Ellen Montgomery (MILLER), eldest daughter of Geo. Miller, aged about 2 years. (12 August 1857)

. . . August, 13th, Henry D. (MITCHELL), son of Mr. Jos. T. Mitchell, of this county. (26 August 1857)

On Saturday night last . . . in front of the residence of the Rev. Daniel Downey, Pastor of the Roman Catholic Church of this place . . . brick building nearly opposite his Church . . . his family consisting of . . . a young woman named Margaret Leigh and her nephew, a little boy about ten years of age . . . (was found) William MULLEN, a native of Ireland, a stone-cutter by trade . . . had been bleeding profusely . . . blood traced to front door of Dr. Downey's residence . . . Margaret Leigh . . . said to be enciente, had instituted suit against Mullen some days before for breach of marriage contract . . . Two individuals found in the house—Mrs. Rose Ann Crickard, widow of the late Peter Crickard, and Dr. Downey . . . Coroner, A. J. Garber, Esq., proceeded to take . . . testimony . . . C. P. Wood . . . and Michael McAlear (nephew of Patrick McAlear) . . . (were) examined. . . (McAlear) had gone with the deceased Saturday night . . . with Thomas

Honihan, to residence of Dr. Downey . . . Messrs. Cease, Risly, Smith etc. were also examined . . . The body of the deceased was sent to Washington . . . to his friends. (16 December 1857) . . . Margaret Leigh, (the housekeeper) . . . Some years past an Irish orphan girl . . . employed as a servant by Mr. George Armentrout, the jailor . . . About the first of October past, Dr. Downey . . . engaged her services . . . she expected to be a mother in . . . three months . . . secured the services of Lawyers Harman and Bell to bring suit against him (Mullen) for "breach of marriage contract" . . . (Mullen) has a wife living in Baltimore, from whom he separated shortly after marriage . . . The prisoner, (Dr. Downey) has retained as counsel, Col. Baldwin, Michie, Skinner and Michie, and H. M. Bell. (RV 19 December 1857)

On the 6th of June, Mary F. MYRELY, daughter of George and Mary Myrely, aged 9 years. (RV 20 June 1857)

At the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institute, on Tuesday last, Mr. Michael OATES, aged about 50 years . . . had been the Gardener at the Institution for some time . . . an Irishman, by birth, a native of the Town of Elfin, county Roscommon. (RV 17 October 1857)

Departed this life, on South River, Nov. 30th, Mrs. Polly PATTERSON, widow of the late John A. Patterson, Esq. . . . large family . . . She was long a member (and he an Elder) in Augusta Church. (9 December 1857)

From the New Orleans Delta. . . . on the 27th inst., (at the residence of his brother,) in this city . . . Jacob G. POINTS, born in Staunton, Va., on the 3d of October, A. D. 1805. In youth he emigrated from Virginia to Courtland, Ala., where he passed a large portion of his life. (13 May 1857)

Departed this life, on Thursday evening last, at the residence of her father, Mrs. Margaret C. RANDOLPH, consort of Mr. William H. Randolph, and the youngest daughter of Elijah Hogshead, Esq., near Middlebrook . . . has left a young husband and an infant child . . . a tender sister, kind brother and fond parents . . . Her mortal remains were conveyed . . . on the following day . . . Shemeriah Cemetery. (16 September 1857)

. . . at or near the store of M. Kersh, Esq., near Mt. Meridian, in this county, last week . . . Mr. REED, a young gentleman who acted as clerk in the store for Mr. K. was kicked by a horse . . . and died the following day . . . a nephew of our esteemed countryman, B. F. Reed, Esq. (RV 5 September 1857)

Within the course of five days three members of the family of Mr. John Rice, in Greenville, have been carried off by death—his wife and two daughters. (RV 7 November 1857)

In Mt. Sidney . . . on the 21st inst., Mr. Wm. C. RICHARDS, leaving a wife and three children. (27 May 1857)

On the 9th inst., at the residence of her son, in this county, Mrs. Elizabeth RODGERS, aged 73 years, 1 month and 3 days . . . the relict of the late John Rodgers and was born on the 6th day of January, 1784 . . . connected herself with the Methodist E. Church. (25 February 1857) On the 6th inst. (RV 28 February 1857)

. . . on Saturday last . . . Mr. Michael SHAVER, of this county, aged about 40 years. (RV 18 April 1857)

On the 16th inst., near Union Church, Mr. Frederick SHERMAN. (24 June 1857)

Heirs Wanted. About twenty-five years ago Mrs. Margaret SHEYER (called Shires) died in this place, leaving a sum of money to be used for charitable purposes in the town of Staunton. The money went into the hands of the late Samuel Clarke, Esq. . . . Jno. N. Hendren, Esq., Mr. Clark's administrator lately filed a bill in Chancery asking the Court to appoint a Trustee to receive the money . . . Judge Thompson . . . decided that the legacy was void, and that the money must go to the heirs of the testatrix. (29 July 1857)

At his residence, in the upper part of the county, on the 7th inst., Mr. Thomas SHIELDS, in the 67th year of his age. (16 December 1857)

In this place, on the 14th inst., at the residence of her husband, Mrs. Sarah Jane SHOTT, aged 23 years, 10 months and 13 days. (24 June 1857) Near Staunton. (RV 20 June 1857)

At the residence of her son, Mr. John Shuey, in this county, on Saturday last, Mrs. Mary M. SHUEY, widow of Adam Shuey, aged nearly 86 years . . . mother of a large family. (RV 19 September 1857)

On the 5th inst., at the residence of Mr. Adam Hawpe, near Greenville, Miss Julia A. SIPE. (11 March 1857) . . . a graduate of the Blind Asylum in Staunton, where she spent a pupilage of about eight years. After this she was engaged in teaching music on the piano-forte, in this and adjoining counties, being an excellent performer. (18 March 1857)

On the 25th ult., at his father's residence, in Clinton co., Indiana, Mr. John SKILES, son of Mr. John Skiles, formerly of Augusta county, Va., aged 20 years, 5 months and 13 days. (20 May 1857)

On the 2nd inst. . . Mrs. Margaret Ann SMITHEE, wife of Dr. John M. Smithee, of this place . . (RV 10 January 1857)

In Palmyra, (Mo.) on the 1st inst., Mrs. Mary Ann SOSEY, wife of Jacob Sosey, aged 41 years . . . daughter of our . . . fellow countryman, Jacob Ruff, Esq. (27 May 1857)

(Conrad) SPEECE. (See John Craig)

In Howard county, Missouri, on the 3d of August, Mrs. Mary SPOTTS, widow of David Spotts, formerly of Augusta . . . daughter of the late George Baylor. (26 August 1857)

On the 4th inst., at her residence—"Opossum Hollow"—Mrs. Elizabeth (SPROUSE), relict of the late Wm. Sprouse, sr., aged about 50 years. (12 August 1857) . . . Mrs. Elizabeth, relict of the late Wm. SPROULE, Sr. (RV 15 August 1857)

Departed this life, at his residence . . . on the 24th ult., Andrew A. STEELE, in the 36th year of his age. (4 November 1857)

In Salem, on the 5th inst., Mrs. Rachel STEVENS, consort of Mr. L. Stevens, and daughter of Mr. H. Birch, of Greenville, Augusta county . . . member of the Methodist Church. (16 September 1857)

In Jackson, on the evening of the 10th inst., in the 32d year of her age, Mrs. Catharine B. (STEVENSON), wife of R. B. Stevenson, Esq. She was a native of Staunton, Va., and had resided in this place but about one year. *Jackson (Ohio) Standard, of the 16th ult.* (5 August 1857)

In this place . . . on Wednesday evening, William (STRATTON), infant son of Robert and Virginia Stratton, aged about 6 years. (26 August 1857)

At his residence, in this county, on Monday, the 23d ult., at an advanced age, Maj. David SUMMERS. (4 March 1857) . . . on Sunday last. (RV 28 February 1857)

In this place, on Wednesday evening last, Mr. Wm. SUTHERS. (7 October 1857)

Departed this life, on the 15th inst., at his residence near Greenville, in this county, Mr. James TATE, in the 76th year of his age . . . joined the church of Bethel . . . under . . . the Rev. Dr. Glendy, late of Baltimore, 55 years ago. (22 July 1857)

The munificent bequests in the will of the late John E. THAYER . . . Whereas I am engaged to be married to Miss Cornelia Adeline Granger, on the second day of October next . . . in case I should die before that time . . . make ample provision for her as long as she shall live . . . bequeath to my brother, Nathaniel Thayer . . . two hundred and fifty thousand dollars . . . To pay over to the said Cornelia Adeline Granger . . . all the interest that shall accrue . . . upon the above name sum . . . whether she be single or married . . . At her decease, the amount thus held in trust shall be paid over . . . for the benefit of my son. (25 November 1857)

At his residence, in this county, on Wednesday last, Mr. Thomas THOMPSON, an aged and respectable citizen. (13 May 1857)

On Christian's Creek, in this county, on the 21st of November, Mrs. Jane B. (VAN LEAR), consort of Mr. Jacob Van Lear, in the 67th year of her age . . . member of the Presbyterian Church, first at Bethel

and afterwards at Tinkling Spring . . . Her husband was on a visit to a distant State . . . She goes home to meet loved children that have gone before her. (2 December 1857)

Departed this life, near the South River, on Tuesday last . . . Mrs. Betsey VAUGHN, in the 46th year of her age . . . leaves a large family. (RV 13 June 1857)

Near Greenville, on Saturday, the 25th ult., Mr. David VIA, aged 67 years. (6 May 1857)

On Sunday night last . . . Mrs. Hannah WADDELL, wife of Dr. Livingston Waddell, of Waynesborough. (4 March 1857) . . . daughter of the late John Estill . . . a rich blessing to her church for more than 25 years . . . children. (8 April 1857)

In Waynesborough, on Friday, the 6th inst., at the residence of his son, Dr. Livingston Waddell, Mr. Jas. G. WADDELL, in the 87th year of his age. (11 November 1857)

On Meadow Run, in this county, on Saturday last, Rev. Abraham WANGER, an aged and respectable citizen. (7 October 1857)

In Hannibal, Mo., on the 11th of April, Mr. George B. WRIGHT, formerly of Staunton, in the 30th year of his age. (6 May 1857) . . . was but recently married. (RV 25 April 1857)

At the residence of her husband, in this county, on the 16th inst., Mrs. Sarah WRIGHT, consort of Lawson Wright, aged 50 years. (27 May 1857) . . . in the 53d year of her age . . . native of Rockingham county, Va., where she resided until . . . 1841, during which year she removed to the county of Augusta. In 1831 she . . . (connected) herself with the Presbyterian Church in Harrisonburg, then under the pastoral care of Rev. A. W. Kilpatrick, from which she was dismissed to the Staunton Church. (RV 30 May 1857)

In Lexington, Missouri, on New Year's eve, Mrs. Henrietta YOST, wife of Mr. Samuel M. Yost, formerly of this place. (21 January 1857) . . . Mrs. Henrietta E., wife of S. M. Yost, (Editor of the "Expositor,") aged 22 years, 11 months and 15 days, leaving her husband, three children, (the oldest 6 years, and the youngest 19 months old,) . . . she left her native home in Virginia in September last,—*Lexington, Missouri Expositor*. (RV 24 January 1857)

THE STORY OF SAMUEL FRAME

By
Catharine Hankla

Samuel Frame was an older man, small but rugged. He lived during the late 1800s in Augusta County, Virginia. Samuel was a farmer. He grew corn and tomatoes, but his main crop was wheat. After harvesting his wheat, Samuel, like all other farmers of the area, would take it to Parmer's Mill to be ground into flour.

Parmer's Mill was located on Middle River near the village of Springhill. The mill was operated by John Parmer, a good man, but very stubborn. The mill protruded out into the river to provide the mill wheel with a rapid stream of water. The foundation of the mill was of stone and the building was old and weathered. Inside, the building smelled of freshly ground flour.

Samuel and his wife lived in a small house near the village. They had two hundred fifty acres of prime farmland. Samuel and Dorothy were good Christian folk; they attended church every Sunday.

This year, like all other years, Samuel took his wheat, after harvest, to Parmer's Mill.

"Mornin', John."

"Mornin', Samuel. How much ya got for me?"

"I've got four wagon loads comin'."

"Bring 'em on in. I'll get the mill rollin'."

Four wagon loads of wheat would take a long time to load, deliver and grind; so Samuel left the wheat for several days.

That night when Samuel was asleep, he had a dream. In his dream an angel appeared to him and said, "Samuel, there is to be great flood. Go to the mill and remove all your wheat."

The following morning, Samuel went to the mill to tell John Parmer what had happened and to get his wheat. When Samuel arrived, not only was John there—Harlen and Jacob Byers were there as well. Harlen and Jacob were brothers who lived nearby and had large farms.

"Mornin', Samuel," yelled Harlen.

"Howdie, Samuel. What brings you here? Your flour won't be ready for a few days yet," questioned John.

"Well, last night I had a dream. An angel came to me and said, 'Samuel, there is to be a great flood. Go to the mill and remove all your wheat.'"

"Well now, Jacob, what do ya think about that?" exclaimed Harlen. "That's some dream," he continued. "But I'm afraid that's all it is, a dream."

"What makes you think that an angel would come to you?" asked John.

John, Jacob and Harlen continued to pester Samuel and persuaded him to disregard the dream and leave his wheat at the mill. Samuel returned home feeling very embarrassed.

That night the angel again appeared to Samuel and said, "Samuel, there is to be great flood. Go to the mill and remove all your wheat."

The following day Samuel again rode to the mill for his wheat.

"Howdie, Samuel."

"Hello, John. I had the same dream last night."

"I suppose you want your wheat."

"Yes, I'd like all my wheat, and I'd also like to buy all the flour you have for sale."

So John helped Samuel load the wheat and flour. Samuel returned home feeling much better. He had to store the wheat in a very dry place and decided the hayloft would be a good place.

That night it started to rain. It rained and it rained continuously for a week. The river rose higher and higher, first to the foundation of the mill, then covering the first floor. Up, up went the water until it was running through the mill. Barrels of wheat and empty barrels flowed from the windows. Finally the entire mill washed away, with it the wheat other farmers had left to be ground into flour.

When the rains finally stopped Samuel and his wife went to John Parmer and Harlen and Jacob Byers to make them an offer.

"Mornin', John. Sorry to hear about the mill," said Samuel.

"I guess your dream was real, Samuel; all of the wheat is gone," replied John.

"So I heard. I've an offer to make to you gentlemen," declared Samuel. "I'll sell to you the flour I bought from John at a reasonable price."

"That's mighty neighborly of ya, Samuel," exclaimed Jacob.

The men were very appreciative and the news of what Samuel Frame had done for his fellow neighbors spread throughout the county. People came from all over to see Samuel and to have him tell them his story. Samuel's story still lives on today and has been passed from generation to generation. In fact there is a granite stone on Route 613 in Augusta County which reads "September 22, 1870. Samuel Frame buried on this farm, warned by an angel in a dream to remove his wheat from Parmer's Mill now Springhill which he did. The following day a flood destroyed the mill."

FIREWORKS IN STAUNTON

By

The Rev. Harry G. Balthis, D. D.

This is the story of a tempestuous and divisive session of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Staunton, Virginia, March 13-25, 1861, in what is now the Central United Methodist Church. Out of heated debates and strong passions there came a divisive resolution which tore that Conference from its parent body and split it three ways.

The first and largest segment endured a precarious existence in Virginia during the Civil War, in which it was independent of both Northern and Southern general church bodies. In 1866, it identified with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as the Baltimore Conference of that body. When communications and travel were restored following the war, it incorporated once again a large number of churches in Maryland and eastern West Virginia. It grew to be larger, both geographically and in membership, than the original Conference which had met in Staunton.

The second segment was composed of ministers who did not favor the resolution of separation. The Conference had permitted them to enter a minority report stating the reasons for their opposition. It was signed by thirty ministers, most from north of the Potomac. A year later, meeting in Baltimore, they reaffirmed their allegiance to the Methodist Episcopal Church (North), and rejected the Staunton action. A number of churches in northern Virginia who wished to maintain affiliation with the northern church were in this group. Like its Southern counterpart, this conference became strong after the war. The territory it served and that of the Southern conference overlapped in many areas, both in Maryland and Virginia. Thus the two conferences, both named "Baltimore" existed side by side.

The third segment of the Staunton meeting was composed of a handful of Southern sympathizing ministers who, after the Conference, found themselves living in and around the city of Baltimore. Shut off from the South by the battlelines of Northern Virginia and the Valley, they nevertheless preserved a difficult wartime existence, and even grew a little. With the cessation of hostilities, they joined the Southern church and became a vital part of the Baltimore Conference.

The rupture effected in Staunton was not healed until 1939, when the Methodists again became "one people" through the union of the Northern and Southern branches with the Methodist Protestant Church. At that time, the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, born in Staunton, came to an end, its terri-

tory being divided four ways—into the present Virginia, Baltimore, West Virginia and Peninsula Conferences.

This paper chronicles the birth of a now non-existing Conference in a branch of Methodism which has ceased to be. Born in turmoil and agony, the Conference had a total life of only seventy-eight years, including the years of independence. For almost three generations it provided the organizational home of large numbers of Methodists in the Valley of Virginia, Maryland, and eastern West Virginia.

The Conference which assembled in Staunton in 1861 was one of six annual conferences, equal in power and authority, created in 1796 by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its prestige was generally recognized. Bishop Matthew Simpson, in his "Cyclopedia of Methodism," published in 1880, describes the early days of Methodism in the Baltimore area, including the Valley of Virginia, in these words:

... after 1775 ... Baltimore was recognized as the central point of Methodism ... every General Conference from that period (1784) ... until 1812 (met in Baltimore) ... The presence of leading preachers, and the influence of literary institutions, gave an impulse to early Methodism in Baltimore and vicinity which it received nowhere else, and which has not ceased to this day. From 1784, to 1792, the Baltimore Conference was regarded as the chief authority in the church ...

Those churches in the Staunton area which are Methodist in background, and whose history antedates the Civil War, were a part of this Baltimore Conference from their beginnings until March 23, 1861.

Tensions over the slavery issue early threatened to disrupt the Methodist Church. They became more acute as the South grew increasingly more dependent upon cotton. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South came into being following a stormy session of the General Conference in New York City in 1844. The immediate cause was a resolution calling upon a Southern Bishop, James Andrew, to desist from the exercise of his office because he had become a slave-holder.

The ties which bound the Baltimore Conference to the parent Methodist Episcopal Church were not easily broken, despite much vocal Southern sentiment. For sixteen years, overtures of the new Southern church were resisted. Only after additional anti-slavery legislation at the 1860 General Conference did the break come. This occurred at the fateful meeting in Staunton.

The city of Staunton in 1861 was the largest in the southern part of the Shenandoah Valley, population of 3,875. Only Winchester was larger, with 4,392. The members gathered in the "new and elegant" Methodist Church at the corner of Lewis Street at Beverley. With a total membership of 350, the church included 200 colored. The "elegant" church building was valued at \$10,000. The Staunton *Spectator*

and *General Advertiser* describes it as "commodious." It was the third building the Methodists erected on the site. The nearby Augusta Circuit, which included Waynesboro, reported at this time 200 white members and 70 colored. The Churchville Circuit was larger with 250 whites and 43 colored. It provided hospitality for the second meeting of the separated Conference in 1863.

Unlike today, a Methodist Conference consisted of ministerial members only. There were no laymen. To give expression to lay opinion, lay assemblies were sometimes organized. A convention of this nature had been held in Baltimore the previous December, in 1860. Out of this had grown a second meeting, at Staunton, concurrent with that of the ministers, with similar agenda. Laymen were present from all parts of the Conference. They met in the Baptist Church. The *Staunton Spectator* wrote that both the Methodist and Baptist churches . . . "have been crowded to their utmost capacity by the hundreds of ladies and gentlemen who have been deeply interested spectators at the proceedings of both bodies." The presence of such numbers taxed the ability of the churches and community to provide accommodations. The assistance of all denominations was sought and given.

The ministers who gathered in Staunton were, for the most part, original, authentic, "circuit riders." The older had travelled widely over far-flung circuits which included many preaching places. The Bishop moved them from appointment to appointment almost annually. All kinds of weather had seen them on the trails. They were guided by what one of the older members of the conference called "the Methodist preacher mark"—a sapling at each bend of the road pulled down with half the top broken to hang down and indicate direction. Often they were worn out with travel, poor food, and unwholesome accommodations. Frequently they were victims of religious bigotry. Always the adversary was apathy and indifference. Often the circuit rider was forced to locate for a year or longer to recoup both health and substance. Many considered themselves too busy to marry.

There were many able men among them. The *Staunton Spectator* commented that they included "a considerable number of men of talent."

It is not surprising that the birth of the "independent" Baltimore Conference was both agonizing and difficult.

Disrupting the uneasy stalemate in regard to slavery which had prevailed since 1844, the General Conference of 1860 in Buffalo, New York, adopted a controversial resolution called the "New Chapter." This, passed over the opposition of the delegates from Baltimore, provided;

We believe that the buying, selling or holding of human beings, to be used as chattels, is . . . inconsistent with . . . that rule in our Discipline which requires all who desire to continue among us "to do no harm and to avoid evil of every kind!" We therefore affectionately admonish all our preachers and people to keep themselves pure from this great evil, and to seek its extirpation by all lawful and Christian means.

To many members of the Baltimore Conference this represented a radical change in the church at large, stimulated by an increasingly active anti-slavery faction. When the Methodist "Discipline" was first printed in 1789, it had provided that persons desiring admission to the church should avoid evil of every kind such as "the buying or selling of men, women or children with an intention to enslave them." Until 1861, the Baltimore Conference had been able to live with this condemnation of the slave trade. It had also been able to accept the policy that no ordained minister should be permitted to own slaves, and, if he came into possession of any be marriage or inheritance, he must take immediate steps to free them, providing the laws of the state permitted. But the New Chapter, reflecting a new militancy, raised many questions. The uneasy truce was broken. Issues became so heated and of such consequence that ordinarily calm and controlled men found it impossible to consider them without becoming emotionally involved. Many felt that the New Chapter would effectively shut off slaveholders from the church, and would make impossible any ministry to these persons and their slaves.

Varied questions were in the minds of the ministers as they gathered in Staunton: Does the New Chapter have the force of law, or is it advisory only? Does it prevent the reception of slaveholders as members of the church? Does it now become the duty of all church members to engage in active efforts for the abolition of slavery? Does the New Chapter imply that every slaveholder is a sinner against God, nature and the precepts of the Gospel? Does the Discipline justify an administrator in arraigning and expelling a slaveholder from the church? Must the New Chapter now be regarded as the doctrine and belief of the church on slavery? Does the presiding bishop have authority to ordain any preacher, local or travelling, who says he cannot subscribe and conform to all the doctrines of the church? The Bishop, Levi Scott, painstakingly endeavored to answer these and other questions. He proved to be a careful logician and interpreter of church law as well as an accomplished ecclesiastical tight rope walker. But the points of view proved irreconcilable.

There were four main divisions of opinion: one favored continuation as the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; a second favored immediate union with the Methodist Episcopal Church,

South; a third favored withdrawal from the Methodist Episcopal Church and a new organization which would entirely ignore the slavery question; a fourth advocated a new and separate organization of a radical anti-slavery nature. "What the end of the present agitation will be, God only knows," wrote an observer several months before the Conference began.

One of the most arresting voices at the conference was that of Alfred Griffith, "Grand Old Man" of what is now Trinity Methodist Church in Alexandria. Griffith was older even than the Methodist Church, having been born in Montgomery County, Maryland, in 1783, the year before the famous Christmas Conference. The son of a captain in the Revolutionary War, he was described by the *Staunton Vindicator* as "a man grown grey in the service of Methodism." Now seventy-eight, he exercised the prerogative of the old to speak much. He did it well. The *Staunton* newspaper called him "the old man eloquent." He had joined the conference in 1806, when the conference was just ten years old. For sixty-five years until he died, he was a Methodist minister. He was never to leave the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Griffith's anti-slavery views were well known. He had declined to accept any part of his father's estate in slave property. At the General Conference of 1844 he was one of the chief sponsors of a resolution which, in modified form, resulted in the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as an unfortunate bit of fall-out. His fellow ministers had honored him by electing him to nine General Conferences. Short in stature, strongly marked in physiognomy, without any grace of manner, he was not withstanding "one of the most prominent figures in the heroic age of Methodism." He had superannuated or retired in the late 1850s.

Griffith disliked the New Chapter, but he wanted no drastic action of any kind. Looking on the legislation merely as advice or guidance, he counseled non-compliance, but the continuance of the historic ties of relationship. He did not want to see his beloved Conference divided. With moving words, he called the Conference to "stand by our fathers." The oldest Methodist preachers were chosen under God to build the Methodist Church, he said. "We preached then to bond and free . . . No quarreling . . . We never knew any doctrine like that from Buffalo, that slaveholding is a sin. 'Twas not in our Bibles. Show me it. It is not there. God never put the mark there. I will not be governed by it. Yet, I can see none of the spirit of Jesus in trying to avenge ourselves. Let us stand by the landmarks of our faith. There I stand and there I shall die," Griffith said.

In a later session, Griffith again called for moderation. "I told you I took exception to the form and manner of the passage of the New

Chapter," he said. ". . . shall we have schism? The Baltimore, Philadelphia and old Virginia Conferences built and gave lustre to the church . . . Shall we then break up . . . and spread ruin in our societies? I . . . deplore it in tears. If it be not irreverent, I ask (God) to take me home to himself that I may not see it."

Griffith was to leave Staunton with a heavy heart. His opinions had not prevailed.

The leading proponent of secession was Norval Wilson, whose son Alpheus in the following months held together the small splinter group of Southern sympathizing ministers and laymen in the city of Baltimore. Alpheus later became a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Norval Wilson referred to himself as an "old time Methodist preacher." This he was, but far above the ordinary. He was born in Morgantown, now West Virginia, December 24, 1802. His father, a lawyer of prominence, had served as a legislator in Virginia and in the Congress of the United States. His ancestors were Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. As a boy, he read widely. Some of his studies were in the areas of history, law, science and philosophy. All of his life, he engaged in academic pursuits. Admitted to the Conference "on trial" in 1821, his colleagues soon came to recognize him as a man of "intellectual gifts, unusual cultivation and confessed spiritual power." He was an indefatigable worker. His ministry took him from the mountain coves and valleys of the west to tidewater and the cities of Baltimore, Washington, Georgetown, Winchester and Alexandria. He was assigned to Harper's Ferry in March, 1859, just before John Brown's assault on the United States' arsenal. Four times he was a Presiding Elder. In March, 1835, he became Presiding Elder of the Rockingham District, which then included Augusta County. This work proved too strenuous for his health. He said that he began the work of the Rockingham District with prayer and left it with thanksgiving.

Norval Wilson was a delegate to nine General Conferences. He was in Buffalo in 1860. After the war, he was in New Orleans when the independent Baltimore Conference was received as a part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1866. Before going to New Orleans he served as President of the Conference in Alexandria in 1866 when his son, Alpheus, and the Southern sympathizing ministers of the city of Baltimore united with the independent Baltimore Conference shortly before that body sought union with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

One who knew Norval describes him thus: "Tall, slender, slightly stooping . . . closely shaven . . . calm yet penetrating eye, Roman nose, firmly set mouth, all betokened of a man of unbending will . . . Deliber-

ate in utterance and usually free from gesture, the resounding tones of his voice . . . reached to the outer circle of a large assembly."

In 1877, Samuel Rodgers, minister of Winchester, in a memorial address on the life of Norval Wilson said that he . . . "helped to shape the judgments of his Conference and earnestly maintained and defended them. This he did when it was not cheap to be found their advocate . . . When the passions of men made it unsafe . . . or when the power of Cesar (sic) put personal liberty, if not life in peril . . . He was bold, but not rash: he did not court danger, neither did he shrink from it . . . He threw himself into the breach when tried men would have wavered, and inspired other hearts with the example of his own courage."

Rash or not, Wilson had no hesitancy in letting the Conference know where he stood on the New Chapter. He said of its advocates in the North ". . . (they) denounce the Bible unless it teach the doctrine of abolitionism . . . Its doctrine and ours is antagonistic." He thought the circulation of the 1860 Discipline contrary to the law of the church. "We cannot fraternize with a body of men which hold (such) sentiments." He called the New Chapter "A rod held in *terrorem* over our heads, They want to fritter us away between two pressures until we are annihilated." He also denounced the literature of the church as being "all against us." "The church is too large," he concluded. "There is tendency to corruption in large bodies. It is death for us to forbear much longer." He favored immediate separation. There is no indication that he ever considered the unfortunate effects of such action. The writer in the *Vindicator* considered Wilson's argument . . . "clear, emphatic . . . and unanswerable . . ." After the war, when in retirement, Wilson was called upon by the people of Virginia to serve as a member of a convention to draft a new constitution for the state.

The esteemed Conference Secretary, elected at Staunton for the ninth time, was John S. Martin. He was forty-five years old. His ministry was to cover a span of fifty-three years. When he died in 1888, it was written of him ". . . he filled every position a Methodist preacher could fill, from a circuit with twenty-eight appointments, to the pastorate of a small station, and from the presiding eldership to the exacting work of a large city church."

Martin featured in an interesting episode in the months following the Staunton Conference. He had been reappointed to the 350 member Charles Street Church in Baltimore, but his Southern sympathies would not permit him to remain there. As Secretary, one of his duties was the preservation of the historic records of the Baltimore Conference. Martin gave the matter thorough consideration. He decided that it was his undeniable duty to see that they remained in proper hands by

returning them to Virginia. Hiding them from a United States Army provost guard detailed to search for them in Baltimore, Martin shipped them secretly to Norfolk. Eventually, they were taken up the James River Canal to Lexington for the duration of the war. Later, Martin was both pastor and Presiding Elder there. Only in 1939 were they returned to the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Martin later spent four years "of notable prosperity" serving the Staunton Church to which he was appointed in 1875. A daughter lived in Staunton for many years, well into the twentieth century.

Edward F. Heterick was also in attendance, coming from Front Royal. Forty years old, he was new in the Conference, which he had joined in 1857. Ready for full ordination as an Elder, he was to become an embarrassment to the presiding bishop and something of a "cause celebre."

On the first Monday of the conference, Bishop Scott reported the names of those whom he had ordained the day before. Heterick's name was omitted. In explaining his action, the Bishop reported that he had received from Heterick, prior to the ordination the following note: "The undersigned, in taking upon him the vow to conform himself to the Discipline, makes an exception against the New Chapter on the subject of slavery." In view of this the Bishop said, he regarded himself as being restrained from ordaining him. As might be expected, this caused a furor. Heterick was forced to wait a number of years for full ordination.

Perhaps the most effective speaker for the continuance of the historic ties with the parent conference was Elisha P. Phelps, Presiding Elder of the Lewisburg District. His strong sense of loyalty to the church as then organized made him opposed to the impending division. ". . . The New Chapter . . . is not the law . . .," he said, "it does not interfere with slaveholding in membership or preacher . . . I stand to defend our members in the South. I regard abolitionism as the greatest evil which can come on our country . . . I can better combat abolitionism with my face to the foe, in the old Methodist Church, than out of it. The South repudiates holding slaves as chattels. So do I. I can hold them as human beings. I am not driven, by the thunder of Yankeeism, out of the old M. E. Church." Phelps held his ground. He stayed in the Northern church. After the war, still in connection with the Northern church, he served extensively in Virginia. Eventually, he returned north of the Potomac River, and became lost to history. The church records, usually careful about ordained men, fail to mention him.

As the Conference opened on March 13, Bishop Scott read from Psalm 127, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." The Conference sang:

Except the Lord conduct the plan
The best concerted schemes are vain,
And never can succeed

At a later session, the bishop addressed the Conference on "let brotherly love continue" (Hebrews 13:1).

The Conference had hardly been called to order when Norval Wilson took the floor. He presented a memorial from the Laymen's Convention in Baltimore. It called for the repudiation of the New Chapter. A similar memorial from the second Layman's Convention at Staunton was later introduced. Both called upon the Baltimore Conference to break its connection with the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church while remaining "Methodist" in all rights, powers and duties. Other resolutions were presented from other sources.

The debate continued for eight days, broken only by the intervening Sunday and the *pro forma* business of conference. A Committee of Fifteen failed to reconcile the resolutions. A Committee of Six was then appointed, dubbed "The Peace Conference." While it could not agree on a conciliatory resolution, it recommended a plan of procedure which proved acceptable. This gave those dissenting from any majority report the right to prepare a minority statement, which, upon adoption, would be entered upon the conference records. In this way it was hoped the internal unity of the conference would be preserved, at least temporarily, and an accurate picture of conference opinion would be presented. "The tears of many flowed freely," says the *Spectator*. This plan seemed to deal fairly with all.

The fateful tenth day arrived—Saturday, March 23, 1861. After opening exercises, Norval Wilson quickly moved that the Conference vote on a resolution he had submitted, now called the "Wilson Proposition." There was an interlude of other business. The Conference prepared to vote. "Wilson's Proposition" contained these divisive words:

... we hereby declare that the General Conference of the Methodist Church, held in Buffalo in May, 1860, by its unconstitutional action has sundered the ecclesiastical relation which has hitherto bound us together ... That we will no longer submit to the jurisdiction of said General Conference, but hereby declare ourselves separate and independent of it, still claiming to be, notwithstanding, an integral part of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Bishop, aware of the tremendous import of the resolution refused to call for a vote. He likewise refused to resign from the chair. He held the motion out of order. But the Conference was not to be deterred. Taking to his feet once again, Norval Wilson moved that the Conference Secretary, John S. Martin, put the question. Martin responded. The decisive vote was cast. Norval Wilson, Alpheus Wil-

son, Edward F. Heterick and others for a vote of 87 voted to approve the resolution. Alfred Griffith, Elisha P. Phelps were among 41 who declined to vote. One man voted "no." Three reserved their votes. The Bishop submitted a paper in which he called the action "... in violation of the order and Discipline of the M. E. Church, and, therefore ... null and void." He continued to preside.

And so the deed was done. The great Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, one of the six original conferences of Methodism, thought by many to be the greatest of all, had passed the resolution which was to separate it from its parent body and also to tear it asunder.

At the session that night, Norval Wilson conducted the devotional exercises. The Bishop was thanked for ... "the ability, impartiality, and kindness with which he has presided ... during the embarrassments of the present session."

Conference met for the last time at 4:30 in the morning on Monday, March 25. The early hour was doubtless necessitated by the difficulty of travel in that day. The minority report was presented and adopted. There were thirty signers. The Conference adjourned at 6:00 a.m. to meet in Baltimore City next session, date not determined.

The writer in the *Vindicator* sent the group on its way with this ebullient benediction: "The presence of so many ministers in our midst was a source of peculiar pleasure ... The ministers being intelligent, social and agreeable, the Conference will be long remembered by the citizens of Staunton as among the most interesting of occasions they have ever enjoyed ... The result (sic) of the deliberations of the Conference are exceedingly gratifying to all ... and cannot fail to exert a most salutary and happy effect upon the interests of the church ... its career in the future cannot fail to be prosperous and successful."

Within three weeks after the Conference had adjourned, on April 12, the guns of Sumter sounded. The fort was captured four days later. On May 23, Virginia ratified a vote to secede. The first Battle of Bull Run was fought in July. The Civil War had come in all its fury. The Baltimore Conference, as then constituted, was no more.

Point of Personal Privilege

The information that Alfred Griffith was born in Montgomery County, Maryland, caught my attention inasmuch as my mother, Verda Griffith, was also born in that county. In checking the *Geneology of the Griffith Family*, by R. R. Griffith, Baltimore, William K. Boyle and Son, 1892, I find that Alfred's Grandfather, Henry Griffith, born February 14, 1720 was my great-great-great-great grandfather.

My grandfather, Maybury Goheen Balthis, a schoolteacher of Strasburg, Virginia, was admitted to the Baltimore Conference "on trial" at the session in Staunton in 1861. He was assigned as Junior Preacher on the Jefferson Circuit. His address was Charles Town. On April 25, 1862, he enlisted in Company A, 10th Virginia Infantry, C. S. A. On August 14, 1863, he was commissioned as a chaplain of that regiment. He is listed on the roll of prisoners surrendered by General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox. He had been captured at the Battle of Winchester on September 19, 1864. After the war he returned in impaired health to serve his church in West Virginia, Virginia and Maryland. Luray and Strasburg were among his appointments.

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